1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

leaves laid on the floor of the house. Dry, pulverized leaves (*manivа*) of a certain kind of manioc are sprinkled on this dough, and banana leaves are placed on top. After two or three days, when the dough is uncovered, it is crusted over with a thick layer of white mould, in which may be seen the contours of the manivа leaves. The dough, which by now has a strong, sweet taste, is cut into strips and placed in a jar, where, little by little, it exudes a liquid that in color and taste somewhat resembles a bad port wine. In time this liquor becomes harsh, corrosive, and strongly intoxicating. At feasts it is served only in individual, small, long gourds and, since the available quantity is generally not great, only to persons of a certain distinction.

To prepare paiauarú proper, the women lift the dough from its storage place in the jar and, mixing it with water, strain it into another jar, from which it is dipped in gourds to serve the guests.

The preparation of beverages is an exclusively feminine task. Care is taken to prohibit a pregnant women from taking part, since her participation would ruin the product.

No one serves himself with his own hands except the women in charge of the jars. At all the celebrations there is a "server"—generally the uncle of the child or girl who is being feted or even a closer relative—whose function is to serve the full gourds to the guests, one by one, when they are seated, or to wait on them if while dancing they pass in front of the jars, thereby indicating their desire to drink. The supply of water for filtering drinks is also entrusted to the server.

To me paiauarú has a disagreeable taste of fermentation and rot, the fibers contained in it making it even more disgusting. The Indians, however, drink it with enormous satisfaction. Becoming drunk, as often happens, they vomit, wash the mouth with water, and continue to swill. If the beverage is to be kept in a "new" jar, used for the first time, they take care to call in the shaman, *pagé*, to remove with gestures any invisible substance that might blind those drinking from the container.

Besides these three beverages, there are still other fermented drinks, which are, however, rarely prepared, such as dëdne-č[′] from cane (dë′dne) juice boiled and fermented in a jar; ui′-č[′], a sort of chicha made from yam tubers; a drink made of crushed pineapple, which after two days in the jar becomes potent but is also taken unfermented as a refreshment; and another drink, pururu′ka, made from boiled and fermented bananas.

Many of the men are today greatly addicted to cane rum, *caxaça*, which they purchase or receive as "treats" in the Neobrazilian establishments. One of the axioms against which no one on the Solimões will argue is: "Sem caxaça o indio naõ trabalha" ("Without rum the Indian won't work"). The worst influence is naturally exercised by the sugar-cane establishments that have rum stills and where the work is done almost exclusively by Indians. Some owners purposely get the Indians drunk in order to facilitate their exploitation.

In Belém I saw the cashier of one place, an incorrigible sot, ply women and girls with rum merely because it gave him pleasure to seem them blind drunk. The itinerant peddlers, too, in order to persuade Indians for their own purposes, habitually initiate the haggling with a glass of rum. On the other hand, neither

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

there are no Tukuna who sit around all week eating just bananas is because they like, above all, to eat fish, which obliges them to go fishing almost every day; sometimes the catch is small. Again, once in awhile, they wish to eat game, which they can obtain only by extensive trips through the country.

The husband must clear the undergrowth and burn it for his plantation. The house needs repairs, and his weapons and fishing tackle require constant attention. He cuts and sews the clothes for his family, with remarkable ability, makes a canoe for his own use or to sell at a good price, and helps his wife weed the garden, make farinha, and fetch kindling or fruits from the jungle. The wife, who must take care of the children and kitchen, clean the house and clothing, spin tucum thread, make hammocks or baskets or pottery, obviously has no time for swinging in a hammock either. Furthermore, many take enormous pleasure in their plantations, spending the better part of the day there.

That the Tukuna are neither intellectually lazy nor obtuse in understanding is proved by the many alien culture elements which they have adopted and assimilated with real advantage to themselves: first, the ubá of the Omágua, then the casco of the Neobrazilians, in place of the small, primitive canoe of paxiuba barriguda; the mosquito net and subsequent modification of the house; the manufacture of manioc flour, which gives them an appreciable income; clothing, which is a necessity in a land infested by mosquitoes; firearms, sewing machines, and many other items of lesser importance.

All in all, most members of the tribe at least are free from that snobbishness which impels some Indians thoughtlessly to ape the Neobrazilians and to deprecate their own traditions. The Tukuna have preserved the purity of their own language, having adopted not more than two dozen words from the Portuguese, and there is no evidence of bastardization or decadence in the grammar.

The puberty ceremonies with their complicated ritual still persist today, and moiety exogamy continues to be rigorously maintained. Similarly, the religion of the Tukuna in its fundamental concepts has been kept free of Christian influence. This is why the Tukuna have survived to this day as a numerous tribe, with their own ethnic characteristics, whereas all the other tribes that were formerly their neighbors have disappeared.

Visits

In spite of their rebellious individualism, their occasional choleric outbreaks, and their constant fear of witchcraft, the Tukuna are far from being unsociable folk. Reciprocal visits are extremely frequent, and invitations to festive reunions are at times so numerous that the recipient with the best will in the world cannot attend them all. An Indian may suddenly feel the desire to visit an acquaintance, friend, or relative, frequently one who dwells a few days' canoe journey away. He loads his mosquito net, some tururí cloth, and clothing into a burden basket, placing it in the canoe, together with a hamper of farinha, a cooking pot, some gourds, and his fishing gear, and covering it all with a mat of banana leaves (Pl. 4.) Finally, the family also embarks—the dog, the parrot, and the tiny monkey, too—and they voyage forth through the igarapés, sinks, and lakes. When nearing the house of the person to whom the visit is being paid, the traveler

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

announces his coming by the sound of his paddling, the strokes of which can be heard from afar. He then draws his canoe inshore but remains seated in it for about half an hour, without glancing at the house, while the host pays him not the slightest attention. Only later do visitor and host approach each other, the former bringing his baggage to the house, in which there is always enough room for him to be lodged without the slightest inconvenience to the inmates.

Formerly, the guest was accorded a type of martial reception, which Marcoy describes. When a visitor entered a house, all the men present seized their spears, pointing them toward the newcomer and pretending to bar the way. The guest, however, knowing the meaning of this procedure, pushed the weapons aside with his hands, entered, and seated himself in the first hammock. The owner of the house then asked: "Who art thou? Friend or enemy? Whence comest thou? What dost thou wish?" The answer was easily given, since the visitor had only come to trade and so forth. They say that in Peru this form of reception is still practiced.

The visit customarily lasts several days or even weeks, but does not grow burdensome to the host, since the guests bring all they need with which to provide their own food by hunting or fishing. More often than not, the owner of the house shares his meals with the visitors, who do likewise with the host's family.

Festivals

Gatherings by special invitation to selected individuals have much more social and economic importance than personal visits have, whether these guests are invited to participate in collective tasks of major importance—clearing a plantation, preparing house thatch, making preparations for great feasts, such as the puberty feast—or to take part in one of the ceremonies of painting and name bestowal, hair plucking and perforation of ears and septum, haircutting, change of voice in youths, first menstruation, or some similar occasion. We have already noted (p. 13) that the thatch trimming of a new house is also carried out with festivities.

Labor festivals.—There is a large class of ceremonies for which the guests arrive in the morning, receive a meal and gourds of drink from the hosts, then all go out together to work. That night they drink, dance, and sing until the following day. These gatherings, which are entirely profane, are called *vayuri'* (uajurí, ajurí) or pë'ta. The first of these terms, vayuri', is an alteration of the Portuguese word for assistance, *ajuda*, which passed into the lingua geral to designate these gatherings for communal work without payment; the second, pë'ta, is the Portuguese word for party, *festa*, pronounced in the Tukuna manner. This suggests that the Tukuna did not have this institution before contact with the Neobrazilians, among whom it is in great vogue; but one must also consider the possibility that it was already known by the Tukuna, who only adopted the present form and the Portuguese terminology.

Rites of passage.—The rites of passage have, however, a religious basis and are great ceremonies; the generic designation is dyeíl'. Sometimes more than three hundred persons are present at these, and the celebration with its concomitant drinking lasts for three days and three nights. The vayuri' as well as the dyeíl', are above all drinking bouts, not banquets.